Sumba OF17 Flores OF9 Gorontalo OB4 Celebes OB1 Batak OD5 Nias OD11

[474 cont.]

F 764 A peculiar method of disposal of the dead is found in the Rëa area on Flores; there the bodies of the notables, in a squatting position, are tied to a tree, with the head at the top, and bound with areng fibers so that they form, as it were, a thickening of the trunk and become fused with it.

Where coffins are used, they are always of wood today; the form is commonly that of a boat or ship, certainly in connection with the ideas concerning the land of souls.

A hollowed-out tree-trunk is also often used, which actually is a special kind of boat. Such an interment is usually only temporary in connection with ultimate disposal of the body and the great festival for the dead (see p. 200); later the bones are interred in a kind of "mausoleum."

G I 764 [475] In former times, stone coffins must have been used in various parts of the archipelago, for example, among the Minahasa. [Illustration appears here.] The corpses there were placed in a squatting position in stone pots, waroega, or in a stone coffin, timboekar or tiwoekar, hewn out of half disintegrated trachyte, with a loose stone lid in the form of a roof. These G [636] coffins were formerly [476] half-buried in the ground in the vicinity of the house; by order of the administration special burial places were later laid out. This form of interment was C 764 probably more common on Celebes in former times; in the 172 mountainous region Besoa in central Celebes, stone antiquities have been discovered, including stone pots or vats which in B 764 all probability served as coffins. Stone sarcophagi from an earlier 172 period have also been found in the Toba-Batak lands and on eastern Java; those in the latter area are of huge dimensions.

S N I 764 The presence of these and other creations in stone on various parts of the archipelago (Nias, Sumba, etc.) has led to the [174] hypothesis that a tribe of stone-hewers in long-ago centuries established colonies in the archipelago on their journey eastward, as was discussed in Chapter 1.

2: Wilken--356 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Igorot OA20 New Guinea OJ1
Batak OD5 Sumbawa OF18
Arfak OJ7 Ceram OH9
Samoa OU8 Flores OF9
Kubu OD9

[304 cont.]

NG 764 We find this custom on New Guinea among the tribes around Doreh Bay (Ajembori) (2). Here the corpse is bound up

2. De Hollander, L. en Vk., Vol. II, pp. 485, 598, 615, 720, 550.

A [764] with the knees against the chest and is placed in the grave in a squatting position. This is also customary among the Arfak. Id Sb They make a kind of little latticework case around the corpse, C cover it with leaves, and bury it (3). On the Southeastern and F 764

3. Van Rosenberg, Reistochten naar de Geelvinksbaai, p. 92, and Der Malayische Archipel, pp. 534-535.

the Southwestern Islands (2) [see footnote 2 above], among the Manggarai on western Flores, and on Ceram, the body is likewise put in the grave in a squatting position (2) [see footnote 2 above], Sb as is also reported of the Do Donggo or Orang Gunung in Bima 764 (Sumbawa) (4). Among the Sumbanese as soon as one has drawn

4. Roos, Soemba, op. cit., p. 55.

his last breath, his body is put in a squatting position in such a way that the soles of the drawn-up legs touch the floor and the knees, on which the elbows rest, press against the chest, while the hands support the chin and cheeks. In this position it is completely wrapped in linen and put into a round pit in the shape of a well. The same occurs among the Igorot (5), the Orang Sa Ig K Bt

5. Blumentritt, op. cit., p. 38.

764 Lom of Banka (6), and the Orang Benuwa of Malacca (7). The

6. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. IX, p. 392.

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the mountains. On the evening of the day before I 291 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula 515 to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

● 764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

●764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

R [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

773 from van Suchtelen,1 but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner2 says for Rea Ndona) until
[231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

2 [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road
[142] leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[276] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
●764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

1 [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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164 178 It is done in one day now, because the body begins to smell otherwise.

144 361 [197] The physical types in the mountains, the Lio folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impression [181] that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 197 771 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I 778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

291 286 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:
[i.e., Watu Roga.--Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopodo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 766 349 769 614 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and it is like a small separate kampong by itself. Then we went to another, rather farther off and up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine. This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

Yes.

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

●764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the
178 kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular
535 dance place. This consists of a platform built
368 up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of
[614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites.
[574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on
[534] the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers perform in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[1] [See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[793] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 565 We then went with van Bekkum and another priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real 342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round 178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood. 142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores. 231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural 241 364 methods are better and so are the houses, and the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some 137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol, ●764 and around it there are stones. Under these the 614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong. 624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong) 771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 [887] At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunting.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 [276] [887] 200 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and singing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertainment was complicated and good. Most drummers and gong players seem to be old women. These

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not
[197] so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mere-schappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

243 Every-
251 where around the earthen plaza there are corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and [782] perhaps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

R

614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind
of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

231 Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
417 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

764 211 [554] with upright stone. They are built by individuals to commemorate their own name. There is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 411 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

556 237 177 438 Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the radjas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 461 185 273 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk want very little. They work a little, just enough to get the corn going, and then drink enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

584 Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
178 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
[177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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●764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

War

000 for tolerance!

●764 178 At death, different rites are given according to the age of the deceased. Formerly, children were just buried, fast. Today they are also buried, but after a Catholic funeral service. Before and now, among all groups, after four days a beast is killed and the house is cleaned up. After eight days they wash the hair and bathe (does this mean that they do not wash until then?) and throw all the dirt into the river. Anyway, they buried and still bury after one day.

The same treatment is given for a person of middle age or a mere adult. If the person is very old, more rites are held. The blake (means mother's brother, but also all affinal relations) must bring tusks, goats, pigs. Until these are brought, there is no burial. Formerly, the body would be kept until it began to smell. Evidently, this was a kind of shaming. But if it got too smelly, it was buried (and evidently they still bury under these conditions) finally even though no gifts came from the blake. For an old person, a little house would be built on the [656] grave. I gather that the government will not let them keep the bodies any more, so probably this practice is no longer kept up even by the pagans. Thus it seems that they have sanitary laws which have changed the death cult and rites over all Indonesia.

765 In the old days, after four days an animal was killed, and after eight days they had the wash up, cleaning of the hair, and the throwing of the dirt into the river. (This is clearly a rite to rid the community of the stain of death.)

764 178 656 And here it is, as I see it. Yes, he says the government now forces them to bury within a day. But until now, for an old person it was proper for the blake to bring a tusk and beasts.

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies,
769 one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 I asked about the religion here as given in
114 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

●764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the [656] big men in the old days. Today, they can't use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 554 565 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

We.

614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
● [764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
62 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

War

829 all, have heard of Holland and Japan. Beyond these very little is known. Many people know the word America. Wilcox was here recently and then they heard of England. But these are just names. The gurus in Tjantjar know a bit about the outside world.

Nothing is known about the population figures of Indonesia or even for Flores. The school level is too low for even children to know these things. The assistant, however, knows the population of Indonesia, and of the world (exact! two billion!). He knew that there were four hundred and fifty million people in China too! But he did not know about India or the rest of the countries. He was surprised that Holland was so small.

186 Formerly, in the wartime, there was a great feeling for the kampong, but no real thought in regard to patriotism. They like their place and their adat. They dislike Ngada. They say that the people in Ngada kill, are coarse, etc. They don't like Ende, Larantuka, Sikka, etc. They simply do not like the adat from other areas. This is the main point. They hate Bima, and have vivid memories in this regard. Formerly there was no criticism of the Dutch, but now they are getting onto colonialism a bit in retrospect. However, there is no real thought on these things. They know that the Chinese are tipu orang (crooks). They consider Arabs as better people; in fact, they are O.K. They are rich. They have no knowledge about other people.

166 There are kampongs which are declining in population and seem not to amount to much, but the people stay there because it is their kampong. They simply do not move unless they decide their naga is no good.

764 A dead person must be taken back to the home kampong for burial unless (1) it is too far or impossible, or (2) they are already established

[1 i.e., author of "White Stranger, Six Moons in the Celebes", London, 1949 - Analyst]

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[See bibliography, cit. 113 -- Analyst]

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[731] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[783] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

[844] (10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[871] [797] [658]

The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[521]

In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

[829]

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

[178]

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

●764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (1), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]